175 177 came accustomed to Monguor life they willingly became subjects of the T'u-ssu, assuming the obligations and duties imposed on commoners. These Chinese did not drop their surnames to adopt that of the T'u-ssu, and are, therefore, different in surname from the rest of the clan; but they mingled with the Monguors, living in the same hamlets and villages. There are very few hamlets in which only Chinese live. Very few of them adopted the Monguor dress, and few learned the language. Some of the formerly poor Chinese, growing wealthy, have become outstanding people in the clan, pushing themselves forward and getting jobs in the T'u-ssu administration, where the pattern was the same as that of China, with all its assets and drawbacks and squeeze and bribery.

While the Monguors have absorbed or partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture to be lower than that of the Chinese. Many of them are ashamed of their "barbarian" origin, repudiate their Monguor or Shat'o descent, and claim to be of Chinese origin; they dress like Chinese and speak only Chinese.

It is not easy to give even an approximate figure for the number of Chinese enrolled in Monguor clans, partly because so many Shat'o and Monguors claim to be of Chinese extraction. For that reason it is possible that the number of regularly enrolled Chinese families is not as large as it seems to be. In every clan, however, real Chinese are numerous. The general rule seems to be that they are descended from individuals and single families, not from groups which joined the Monguors in considerable numbers at any one time. However, a large group of Chinese bearing the surname of Pao lives in Pient'an and is enrolled in the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu.

175 177 •551 Professor Lattimore draws my attention to the fact that Chinese with the clan name of Pao (which may be written in several different ways) frequently if not usually claim to be descended from the Mongol imperial clan of Borjigid. This suggestion raises problems in connection with Monguors who use the name of Pao. On the one hand, this group is often referred to in ordinary speech as "Yuan Pao," which might be held to suggest "Pao of the Yuan [dynasty]," and hence descent from the Borjigid clan. On the other hand, there is no written record that identifies the Pao as "Yuan" Pao. On the contrary, the Pao families under the Lu T'u-ssu are listed as commoners, and as such have to pay taxes and are subject to corvée and military service; whereas the Lu T'u-ssu and his noble relatives claim descent from the imperial clan of the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty through Kölgen, son of the celebrated favorite of Chingis Khan, Kulan. If, therefore, the Pao families were really of Mongol descent, how could they have become commoners under a T'u-ssu also descended from the imperial family? [81]

[81] Pao is also used by Mongols descended from Khabtu Hasar, brother of Chingis Khan. The possibility should, therefore, be

[P. 56a]

L: Serials M-S (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Father A. Mostaert tells me that Taiji (i.e. descendants of the imperial line of Chingis Khan) of the Otok Banner of the Ordos Mongols, when they have much to do with the Chinese and need to use a clan name in the Chinese style, take the name of Pao, from the first syllable of Borjigid. The Taiji of the Ushin Banner of the Ordos Mongols, however, prefer to take as a Chinese clan name Ch'i, from the first syllable of Kiyut (Kiyat), which is well known as the sept or subdivision of the clan of Borjigid to which belonged Yesugei, father of Chingis Khan.[32] Possibly the explanation may be that among the Monguors noble families with the name of Ch'i descend from Chingis Khan, while families of commoners with the name of Pao have only a vaguer, undocumented claim to descent from the larger Borjigid clan of which the sept of Kiyut (Kiyat) was a particular line.

In this connection it is worth noting that, among all the seventeen Monguor clans, the general rule is that the use of a Chinese surname begins only with the third or fourth generation from the founding ancestor, with the exception of the clan of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where the Chinese form Ch'i is found from the very beginning, with the supporting statement, in both the *Annals* of Hsining and the *Annals* of Kansu that the Ch'i line was descended from the line of Chingis Khan.

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The clan name of the Lu T'u-ssu is also of special interest. This line expressly claims Mongol imperial descent, yet its Chinese clan name is neither Pao nor Ch'i. The explanation is provided in the family chronicles of the Lu T'u-ssu. In 1410 a Chinese army suffered a disastrous defeat on the river Kerulen, in Outer Mongolia, and among those who perished was the son and successor of the founding ancestor of the Lu line, who as a frontier feudatory had been summoned to take part in the Chinese expedition into Outer Mongolia.

To erase the memory of this disaster the Ming ordered that the Chinese name for the Kerulen River be changed from Luch'ü to Yinma.[33] At this point the family chronicles of the Lu clan (which, as already mentioned above, I am now preparing for publication) chime in with official history. In these records, the biography of the third T'u-ssu of the line, son of the T'u-ssu who died in battle on the Kerulen River, says that in 1414 he was ordered with his troops from Kansu to Hsüanhuafu, on the frontier between North China and Inner Mongolia, and that in a battle on the river Kant'an he made prisoner a Mongol general.

The emperor then said: In former times Tan, duke of Chu, made a punitive expedition into the region of Yen-hsi. The King of Ch'eng gave him, as appanage, the

taken into account that in the Monguor usage lineal descendants of Chingis Khan, if they used the clan name Pao, were distinguished as "imperial" Pao, while collateral descendants were considered commoners.—O. L.

[32] The Mongol terms are *omog* (*obog*) for the main clan, and *yasu* (*ясу*) or "bone" for the sept or subdivision.—O. L.

[33] Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols*, as cited, 28.

[P. 56b]

175 551 country of Lu. Your family submitted [to the Ming dynasty] long ago, and has fought bravely in many expeditions in far-off regions; your glorious achievements may be compared with those of the duke of Chu, and I therefore bestow on you the name of Lu. From that time, says the chronicle, the line [that is now] Lu changed its clan name to Lu. Unfortunately, however, the chronicle does not say whether the clan name was previously Pao or Ch'i.

There remains to be mentioned the use of double names called in Chinese "*fu hsing*," borne by a very few Monguor families. I noted only 5 such names: Ho-Li chia, Pao-Ma chia, Chang-Li chia, Yuan-Pao chia. The *Po chia hsing*, the traditional list of Chinese clan or family names, records 408 single and 30 double names, and the few double names encountered among the Monguors are not included among the 30. What may account for the Monguor double names has always been a mystery to me. I was never able to determine whether the few families of commoners bearing these names were genuine Chinese, or sinicized Monguors, or Tibetans.

TIBETANS

563 177 In addition to the Chinese there are in some clans large numbers of Tibetans but they appear to have joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese.

In the Li clan there are 20 Tibetan families living in the Narin valley and 60 families, still wearing Tibetan dress but speaking Monguor, in Hsiatsantze ("Lower station"). These 80 families are scattered remnants of the Tibetan K'eelurk tribe. In Tseilin[34] valley lives a group of 40 Tibetan families, and another group in Shuimokou ("Water-mill valley") of more than 100 Tibetan families who speak Monguor, but still dress in the Tibetan fashion, who once belonged to the famous Wang T'u-ssu of Choni monastery in T'aochou prefecture. They adopted the name Li.

In the Ch'i clan there are 32 Tibetan families speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, in Tungtsantze ("Eastern station"). They belonged originally to the two Tibetan tribes of Kairtsen and Nguertsa. In Chungtsantze ("Central station") are 40 Tibetan families also speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, who formerly belonged to the tribes of Mach'i and Ch'iaok'o.

In the clan of the Wang T'u-ssu there are 18 Tibetan families.

In the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu there are 453 Tibetan families, scattered in 13 villages numbering 2,365 persons. For this big group, there are historical data. They are descended from families granted to the T'u-ssu by the emperor as a reward for his strong support in

[34] This place name, especially as the second syllable is written with the Chinese character for "grove, wood," may be a Chinese form from Monguor *dziari*, given in the *Dictionnaire*, as cited above, as "bois sacré," with a suggested possible further derivation from Tibetan *t'sal*, "bois."—O. L.

[P. 57a]

M /12 cont'd/

582 The general rule which governs the unions of T'ou-jen young people is very simple. It requires only that the husband and wife not bear the same name, therefore that they belong to different families. There are no exceptions to this rule. Moreover, it is the
M [171] same rule which exists among the Chinese and the Turco-Mongolian peoples.

M Now the T'ou-jen claim that formerly all the people of the
● 551 same t'ou-se were called by the name of the t'ou-se; a chief and his people thus constituted a clan. This is possible and even probable, for among the Mongols, who are racial brothers of the T'ou-jen, members of the same clan have the same name. (1) Today,

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1. The Life of Ghingis Khan, by Prof. Vladimirtsov, p. 5: The habit of minor tribes of adopting the appellation of some powerful and related neighbour even though they might be in hostile relations with the latter, is reported by the ethnologists of various parts of the world, e.g. from the Caucasus, the Altai, and contemporary Mongolia.

As the Tartar tribe was numerous, and had by the twelfth century acquired considerable importance, members of the other Mongol clans often adopted the famous name of Tartar, so that their own tribal name ceased to be known except to their nearest neighbours. /Cited in English./

P. 64: Temuchin after having brought all the tribes of Mongolia into subjection is proclaimed Ghingis Khan in 1206 at the sources of the Onon. "The Borjigin clan had once more revived the greatness and the glory of the Mongol name, and all the peoples of their race would henceforward be designated as Mongols. All the

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Noyans, Bagaturs, Beks and Tegins, all the aristocracy now became the Vassals of the clan of Mongol and accepted its name. For the first time the united nation had a common name and the name soon became so glorious that every nomad was proud to call himself a Mongol. /Cited in English./

A similar custom existed among the T'ou-jen. Indeed, we know the case of a group of more than a hundred families under the Iang t'ou-se of Tchouo-ni-tse who came to live in the Choei-mouo-keou of Sining belonging to the Li t'ou-se. The whole group changed its name from Iang to Li and acknowledged Li t'ou-se as its chief.

M 551 /13/ however, due to historic events which we shall relate in their place, families under the same t'ou-se no longer bear the same name.

M 582 178 Hence, in this case, formerly the prohibition against marriage between young people bearing the same name corresponded to that forbidding marriage between members of the same tribe or clan. This prohibition makes us think of the great law of exogamy in all its breadth; an exogamy affecting not only the family but also the clan, since here the two merge. Whatever may have been the case in the past, the law of exogamy today bears only on the single family.

M 351 613 The T'ou-jen consider that the notion of name is exactly equivalent to that of family. All those who do not bear the same name, even though they are descended directly from the same ancestor, are foreigners /i.e., outsiders/ to the family. Here is a conception laden with consequences: daughters given in marriage and, taking the name of their husbands, will consequently leave the family and will become outsiders; they will no longer be buried in the family cemetery; since their children bear a different name, they will also be foreigners to the family of the mother. It follows from this that since they do not bear the same name, there is no obstacle to the marriage of the children of the two families. Thus one regularly sees

M [364] M 582 605 171

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606 lose their rights of inheritance in their family of origin, but since
691 /118/ they are regarded as members of the wife's family, they get back their lost rights. Cases are even cited where they become head in the wife's family. That is the general law fitting this practice.

593 Now the T'ou-jen live at present under a patriarchal system,
608 which is incompatible with this custom. Consequently, it is not
606 surprising that the husband-son-in-law finds himself in a very dis-
554 advantageous position....

●[551] Since there has been no adoption of the son-in-law into the wife's family, he continues to be called by the name of his father, he and his children; he continues to be a member of his paternal family, to honor the dead of his father's family, and to lend a hand to his family of origin in cases of vengeance, etc. Thus in theory he keeps the rights of inheritance in his paternal family. But since these sons-in-law usually belong to very poor families, the chance to enjoy their rights of inheritance very rarely presents itself.

I have, however, met the case in question two or three times, and each time the brothers who had stayed home tried to eliminate the husband-son-in-law on the pretext that he had not contributed to the acquiring of the family's property. However, the unfortunate one always succeeded in making the most of his rights, if not wholly at least in part.

That amply proves that the husband-son-in-law living with the parents-in-law to serve them until death is in a false position with respect to his family of origin.

His position with respect to his wife's family is no better. Indeed, under the patriarchal system, succession is paternal. The name of the son-in-law differs from that of his wife's family; now we have seen "another name, another family," the son-in-law then does not have the right of inheritance to make the most of here. This is what explains the fact that one will never see young people of a well-to-do family consent to making themselves husband-sons-in-law, and that only those who have nothing to lose will take this
608 path.
606 /119/ If the parents-in-law are poor, there will be no difficul-
428 ties for this combination on the part of their own family; if, on the

[621 cont.]

846 431 [262] loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter, and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

[858] [822] Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

553 791 [787] [592] Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the master of the household gives the great incense offering in the yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the [778] child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

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3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guānbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guāmbo; ifulā sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sërāṅ (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; lasdze sërāṅ, pass-peak-palace; tuguän ula, mountain of the Tuguän. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[621 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 622 cont.] the father or grandfather or someone else in the family was just fifty years old, but the mother's family has no influence on such names. For boys, instead of mdzuo (full) one says seraṅ, that is, roughly "sublime." Other names are, for example, wadma sdzig, that is, lotus flower, for girls; or wadma sdzia, that is, dedicated to the lotus, for boys. -- The Chinese, too, have a similar custom. They, for example, take a boy to the temple of the black tiger and then call him "dedicated to the black tiger," hei-hu-pao; or "dedicated to the mother," niang-niang-pao, when they have put the child under the protection of the mother-goddess in the temple. The Chinese pao and the sdzia of the Tujen have the same meaning.

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5. [Foreign text p. 622.] seraṅ: Tibetan sraṅ (?) = dwelling, settlement (Unkrig).

553 791 child to eat; he likewise offers it tea. It is not the child, however, but the mother who eats the gifts. Then everyone makes a threefold kowtow in the house to the soothsayer and the Buddha image, and outside to the sky.

[592] If the spear-spirit desires that the family elder should give the name, the latter performs the same ceremonies, but the soothsayer supervises the performance with the trembling spear. Also, the kowtow is then made to the family elder. -- 553 This ceremony is usually undertaken by the grandfather or 592 father, or by the man who is the master in the family (4). It

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776 the people, and they do not want to be without it in the legend.
[773] The Sdenlatsien San has no significance in the customs.

The position with respect to the mountain-spirit and the earth-god. -- In the chapter concerning the obo, the incense offering, and in other places mention was made of a tripartition of the deities, namely, in the sequence: heaven, mountain-spirit and earth-god, countless gods. Since the mountain-spirit and earth-god are not included under the Buddhistic concept purgan, a pre-Buddhistic age is automatically suggested. In addition, the mountain-spirit has tasks that one could ascribe to heaven. What is the relationship to it?

776 The Tujen call the mountain-spirit yifula. A Tibetan
●551 equivalent would be the word already mentioned earlier, ri-bo
192 lha (mountain-spirit). The informant, who himself bore this name, translated it, however, with the Chinese Shan-shen pao (mountain-spirit protection). (Concerning the name-giving, cf. above, "The Conclusion of the Confinement.") This leads, however, to a Mongolic analysis of the word. According to W.A.Unkrig, this is found in the combination: ibel (protection) and ula (mountain); cf. Koval., p. 282. The interpretation corresponds to the Chinese translation. Yifula thus would be appropriately rendered with "protector of the mountains."
776 Without settling the origin of the name, it can nevertheless be
171 maintained that the cult of the mountain-spirit in the obo festival is a Mongolic peculiarity from ancient times that is repeatedly reported in the literature. Among the Tujen, too -- as among the neighboring Tangut -- the obo festival occupied an important position; cf. "The Obo," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

776 [229] The mountain-spirit is not a terror-god, but a mild, providing father, the lord of the animals, who watches over the welfare of the herds, who cares for plants and trees, and who is concerned about the increase of human beings. He is the guardian of the ayil (village, tribe) and guards its weapons. The people gather around him for playing and dancing,
[171] prayer and offering. Although the mountain-spirit is thus